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by James V. Cunningham

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

THE KHRUSHCHEV THREATS

NOW THAT THE Soviet Premier is proclaiming his familiar arguments, in terms calculated to terrorize the West, the "neutralists" and the membership of the U.N., a new kind of firmness is the pressing need. If nothing is to be gained from panicky reactions to the repeated Khrushchev thermonuclear threats, there is also little to be expected from the policy, which goes back to the Eisenhower Administration, of attempting simply to parry the aggressive thrusts of the Kremlin blow by blow, a policy which leaves the initiative to our determined adversary.

President Kennedy is up against a debater of far different caliber than that of his rival in the Presidential race. Yet it is tempting to challenge some of Khrushchev's most specious points. He consistently assumes, for example, that it is the United States and the nations of Western Europe who are the "aggressors" and the "imperialists." He dismisses American and British abstention from further nuclear testing on the ground that France is conducting such tests, although he is well aware that this is done over American and British opposition and that the French A-bomb is a comparatively low-yield, unsophisticated thermonuclear weapon. He poses throughout as a champion of peace whose "heart aches" at the thought of the harm the fall-out from his new series of tests is causing. He poses as a man of peace who criticizes the Kennedy-Macmillan proposal about ending nuclear tests for failing to allude to the current state of international tension (which Khrushchev himself has deliberately built up). Persuasive as much of his argument for the Soviet case might sound on first reading, whatever observations that prove convincing have to be weighed against a series of most outrageous dialectical assumptions and assertions.

Another aspect of the menacing Khrushchev pronunciamentos is the confidence they now reflect in his ability to get exactly what he is after. The Soviet leader alludes to negotiating on Berlin in a very special fashion. He does not want to attempt a conference on this subject unless the West is willing beforehand to meet such basic terms as the recognition of East Germany and the setting up of Berlin as an independent "free city" in which NATO and West Germany would have no rights whatever. The absorption of Berlin by East Germany would then be but a matter of time. (Some of this German settlement would seem to be effected already.) If the peoples of the West should refuse to agree to such an arrangement—and seek to prevent it by resort to conventional arms—before long they would be blown to smithereens by Soviet thermonuclear weapons. As he would have it, it is Khrushchev's way or else.

WITH THE destructive capabilities achieved by their existing thermonuclear weapons and the Russians' demonstrated capabilities for delivery, the production of a new 100-megaton bomb would make little sense—talk about it clearly is for terrorization purposes only. Similarly, too, the announcement that Russia is resuming tests in order to produce this, its own super-deterrent, against a militaristic, aggressive Western world. President Kennedy's calm statement that the United States has sufficient weapons to defend itself and its allied peoples was the best thing he has come forward with so far in this crisis.

The President did not, unhappily, succeed in maintaining this confidence-inspiring stance for long, as the Soviet bombs began going off over Central Asia. In yielding so quickly to advisers who have been urging him to resume testing all along,

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President Kennedy has erred, in our opinion. In announcing tests without fall-out when weeks, if not months, must elapse before it would be possible to undertake them, and within a week of the Soviet announcement, he has failed to capitalize adequately on the worldwide resentment over the Russian unilateral *démarche*. Now others tend to lump the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. together. Here is one more unfortunate instance of resort to the ineffectual technique of meeting Soviet threat with American counter-threat.

Moreover, Mr. Kennedy has permitted the Soviets for weeks to capitalize on their claim that atomic weapons controls are meaningless since the only effective thing would be wholesale disarmament (in his interview with C.L. Sulzberger of the New York *Times* the Russian leader said that in the maintenance of universal disarmament no *troika* or veto principle would have a part). Instead of countering the Soviets' hypocritical but positive stand with reasonable but negative objections, how much better to vie with Mr. Khrushchev in espousing disarmament—to press for it in such a way that reduction of the worldwide arms burden and an ending of the race in armaments could actually be begun unless the Soviets call down upon themselves the onus of blocking it by openly rejecting adequate controls.

For all his apparently supreme confidence in Russia's present might, the Soviet Union is not without its vulnerable sectors, preeminently in its strategic satellite countries. The West could do far more than it has in the way of taking the offensive in the cold war. For instance, in view of the Afro-Asian peoples' commitment to the principle of self-determination, it could be effective to protest a number of serious Soviet violations. Cases of interference by Soviet agents in the internal affairs of a number of nations could likewise be haled before the U.N. The more the U.S.S.R. finds itself compelled to meet such charges the more it will be hampered in its aggressive advance—the greater the likelihood it would feel impelled to reduce its pressures against other nations.

The formulation and carrying through of such a shift in policy would obviously require a degree of imagination and persistence yet to be manifest in Washington. But without some such new orientation it appears inevitable that the United States and the free world will continue to give ground before an expansive force which so widely threatens the integrity of the human person and the maintenance of the democratic liberties of the free world.

ANOTHER LITTLE STEP

IN A WEEK pressed down and running over with bad news, it was good to find something to cheer about. Negro children entered previously segregated schools this September in a number of Southern cities, and the manner in which this desegregation was carried out seems to us remarkable and heartening.

Perhaps the most significant case of successfully accomplished integration took place in Dallas, which had been the largest city in the South still defying the 1954 Supreme Court ruling. As was true generally of the cities involved, Dallas prepared for its historic step carefully and well. A citizen's committee carried on a month's-long program of civic education. City officials made it clear that desegregation was going to take place and that nothing would be permitted to interfere with it. The names of the particular schools which were going to admit Negro children were not revealed until the first day of school, and then the schools were guarded by impressive contingents of police. Absolutely no trouble ensued, unless one counts as trouble the arrest of a single nineteen-year-old youth, who came to one of the schools with a Ku Klux Klan cross and a jar of gasoline, hoping to find a disturbance but completely disappointed.

The pattern was much the same in all the cities involved. In Little Rock, Arkansas, scene of the integration riots which prompted President Eisenhower to send a thousand battle-ready troops to the city in 1957, forty-eight Negro children entered various schools without the slightest incident. One white student was quoted as saying, "Nobody around here cares much anymore."

Segregated schools opened their doors to Negroes for the first time in Galveston, Texas; in Atlanta, Georgia, previously a key Deep-South bastion of opposition to the Supreme Court order; in towns in Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida. Small but significant advances in the extension of integration were made even in New Orleans, where only a year ago Negro school children were met by boycotts and mobs as they attempted to enter formerly all-white schools.

Satisfaction over these gains must be tempered, of course, by a number of realizations. For one thing, the school integration accomplished in almost every one of these cases would have to be described as "token." As of now, less than ten per cent of Negro school children in the South

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attend integrated schools. Another consideration is that almost all the school integration which has been achieved thus far has been in towns and cities, not in the rural areas where white supremacist feeling is likely to be most bitter. Finally, there is the discouraging fact that three states in the Deep South —Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina—have after seven long years still refused even the slightest effort to conform with the desegregation ruling.

Nevertheless, without exaggerating the importance of what has been accomplished, and without minimizing the enormity of the difficulties still to be faced, it is possible to draw hopeful conclusions from the start of this school year. The most significant single development in the entire struggle, it seems to us, is the recognition by more and more Southerners that integration is inevitable, however they might feel about it. Once this realization is made, all Southerners, regardless of their private feelings, can join together to make the inevitable as painless and orderly as possible, to make it as little disruptive as possible of the community values that all of them—white and Negro —cherish together.

STRUGGLING FRANCE

THE EYES of the world, riveted for so long on the powder-keg of Berlin, were momentarily diverted by the recent attempt to assassinate President de Gaulle. Luckily, the twenty-two pound plastic bomb did not go off, and the General was unharmed. News wires hummed for a few days with stories of the bomb plot, de Gaulle's utterly characteristic disdain ("A poor joke in bad taste") and details of the police hunt for the culprits.

But then the French adventure was forgotten, and the front pages of our newspapers were filled once again with news of the Berlin crisis, what Premier Khrushchev said, what President Kennedy said, what Prime Minister Macmillan said. Sometimes we even read about what President de Gaulle said, about the Berlin situation, of course.

We find ourselves unable to dismiss the assassination attempt so easily. We are thankful that the attempt to murder President de Gaulle was not successful and that the right-wing terrorist Secret Armed Organization is apparently not nearly so effective in France as was feared. But there is little else to be thankful for in what is happening there these days. The attempt to assassinate de Gaulle reminded us again that only he—a leader of unique strength and stature—is able to hold together the desperately divided Fourth French Republic. In all the reports we saw, it was taken completely for granted that chaos and confusion would result from the death of France's one true leader.

Furthermore, the danger grows that even Charles de Gaulle will not be able to avert the tragedy which threatens. The pressures exerted by the generals in Algeria and by their right-wing followers in France continue to restrict the courses open to de Gaulle, limiting him thus far to proposals which do not meet the demands of the Algerian nationalists. It is true that de Gaulle is slowly and steadily moving towards the position of the F.L.N. (he has offered to reopen discussion on the future status of the Sahara and hinted that the elections in Algeria need not be supervised by the army), but every one of these hopeful steps has also the effect of further inflaming the die-hard rightists at home and in North Africa. How long can de Gaulle manage to protect himself simultaneously from left and right, restrain both the Algerians and the army, prevent a new outbreak of massive violence in Africa?

We hope and pray that he can do all this long enough to remove the cancer of the Algerian war from the body of his beloved, suffering France, and long enough to make provisions for a successor as President of the Republic. If de Gaulle is prevented from carrying out his purposes—by an uprising of the right, by an explosion in Algeria, even by death—the consequences will be tragic. In such a case, de Gaulle's Fourth Republic may well be followed by anarchy and fascism, in either order. Simply and starkly, the future of France is now hanging in the balance, and what is happening these days in Algeria and Paris may be more important to the West in the long run than what is happening in Berlin.

POLITICS AND NON-POLITICS

THERE ARE no signs of any let-up in the efforts of right-wing groups and individuals inside and outside Congress to make a hero-martyr out of Major General Edwin A. Walker, late of the 24th Division in Germany. If these efforts succeed, it will be despite American tradition, the law of the land, and all the evidence in the case.

In Congress, under the leadership of Senator

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Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the Walker-ites are attacking what they term the Pentagon's policy of "harassing" anti-Communist efforts and "muzzling" anti-Communist statements by top military men. Civilian leadership in the Pentagon, it is even whispered, is "soft on Communism." Clearly, every American citizen would have cause to worry if there were a shred of evidence in this direction. We see absolutely none.

Civilian control of the armed forces is provided for by the Constitution, and a ban on political activities by military and naval officers is both a matter of tradition and common sense. But supporters of General Walker and those of his fellow-officers who want to follow his example say their men fall into a special category and should be given a free rein. Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican of South Dakota, recently spelled out what seems to be the major thesis of the Walker-ite argument.

Keep the military out of politics, certainly, Senator Mundt said. But, he went on, it is plainly the Communist game to suggest that anti-Communist indoctrination programs or speeches are "political." Communism is not a political philosophy, he said; it is a conspiracy. When military officers like General Walker talk about how to fight Communism, then, there is nothing political about it.

This line of argumentation appears to be highly convincing to many people. To us it represents the most specious of reasoning. Communism is many things for many people at various times—ideology, pseudo-religion, elaborate socio-economic theory, genuine conspiracy. Communism is obviously not just a political party like the Democratic or Republican parties, and if that is what Senator Mundt were saying he would be quite correct. But questions of how the Communist threat should be met and what means can best be used against it *are* political questions in the fullest sense of the word—a fact which should be clear to liberal and conservative alike.

General Walker may think that the best way to fight Communism is to join the John Birch Society as the Army says he did. In making speeches he may think it helps the national cause to make "inflammatory and derogatory remarks" about former President Harry S. Truman, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. He may be convinced, as it has been reported he is, that sixty per cent of American newspapermen, magazine writers and radio and television commentators are sympathetic to Communism and that such prominent figures as Edward R. Murrow, Walter Cronkite and Eric Sevareid are pro-Communist. He may even see fit to ignore the Hatch Act which bans politicking by government employees in order to push conservative candidates in his official division newspaper. All these things General Walker can do, although each one of them would for us raise the gravest questions about his judgment and fitness for leadership. But to suggest that any or all of these activities can be described as "non-political" because the motivation is labeled "anti-Communism" strikes us as sheer nonsense.

To our mind, the handling of the Walker case by the Pentagon was, if anything, overly gentle, and we only hope the mild reprimand he received will be enough to curb similar if less publicized activities by other Army and Navy personnel here and abroad. As for the current Congressional attack on the civilian officials of the Pentagon which grew out of the Walker case, it would seem to us mischievous and ill-advised at any time. Right now, in view of the gravity of the international situation, we can only see it as dangerous and irresponsible, and we hope the country will soon see an end to it.

OUTWIT AND INWIT

YOU'LL SOON be seeing a thing called "Radar-Gard" in your friendly auto-supply store. This is a new "miracle" electronic device that warns a motorist—it says "beep-beep"—when his car enters a radar-controlled speed zone.

When we first learned of this gadget, our immediate reaction, naturally, was a subversive thrill—the motorist strikes back, down with Big Brother, that sort of thing. Responsible second thoughts, of course, had to do with questions of business ethics, problems of law enforcement in a technological age, the amorality of science. These reflections led us to the axiom that for every weapon there is a counter-weapon, and for the counter-weapon in turn, and so on.

The Soviets were setting off their nuclear blasts almost like strings of firecrackers even as we mused, and spokesmen for the United States were saying just wait till *we* get going, and all in all our encounter with this "motorist's boon" (in rich leatherette case) turned out to be a pretty chilling experience.

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The Indispensable City

Are we only maintaining order in a doomed jungle, prolonging the life of an archaic edifice no longer even worth saving?

by JAMES V. CUNNINGHAM

THOSE OF US who labor to save the American city are growing in numbers. We would be exhibiting false confidence, however, if we did not admit to occasional doubts and misgivings.

Our scattered projects go forward. But when we lift our eyes to the work before us, we see ghettos expanding, crime increasing, jobs decreasing, unplanned sprawl at the edges, and a gray fog of obsolescence swallowing up whole neighborhoods. Sometimes we find ourselves asking: are we only maintaining order in a doomed jungle, prolonging the life of an archaic edifice that is no longer even worth saving? Many sources feed our doubts.

The studies of political scientist Morton Grodzins, for instance, now reinforced by the 1960 Census, show a larger and larger proportion of central city populations becoming Negro, while the suburbs remain largely all-white, an "urban-suburban racial and class schism," he calls it, perpetuating overcrowding and intensifying tensions. And Raymond Vernon, Director of the New York Metropolitan Region Study, points to the absolute economic decline beginning to appear in many central cities, with sharp losses in jobs.

Of our twenty largest cities, twelve lost population during the past ten years. Of the ten largest, nine lost population. Sixty percent of the dollar amount of all new construction has been taking place in the suburbs where only forty percent of the population lives.

Dr. William Wheaton, head of the Department of Urban Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, predicts that most central cities will continue to decline in population, while the suburbs within twenty to twenty-five years will grow from their present fifty millions to one hundred and fifty millions. Pointing out that eight families move to the suburbs for every family that moves back to the city, he calls the hope for a large-scale return "illusionary."

Mr. Cunningham is associate director of the Allegheny Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods in Pittsburgh.

As far as what living in the city is like, the F.B.I. reports that in 1960 crime took an "alarming" jump in most cities. Dennis Clark, who struggles with the race and housing problems of Philadelphia, writes, "Family life is undermined, compromised, and afflicted . . . the city has lost its form . . . (it is) a society composed of bewildered individuals and inharmonious groups."

WHY DO we go on pushing against such strong currents? Why do we work so hard? Why do we spend so much money, force so many families to relocate? Why do we use the waning political power of the central cities to seek inordinate attention and massive appropriations from Washington?

In the face of all the studies and dire predictions, we have a firm, clear answer: it is essential that the central city be revitalized. Although population is declining, the city is the home of millions of families and will continue to be the home of millions of families. These families deserve a fit place to live and grow. Furthermore, the central city is the idea and action center of our complex national life. In it flow the deepest and most varied currents of our society. Allow them to be choked up and it is likely that American life would become bland and sterile.

Today the central city is fighting prodigious forces of decline, but it has assets and strength of its own. Part of the city's strength and importance come not so much from numbers and size as from its role as the vital center of the growing metropolis, around which American life is coming to be organized. Today almost seventy per cent of Americans live in the two hundred and nine metropolitan areas. They need the city for all those things, tangible and intangible, which only the city can supply.

In many ways the city is our greatest physical asset. We cannot afford to let it deteriorate further, for it would be sheer waste to duplicate such facilities

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as buildings, mass transit and communication lines, water and sewer mains across the countrysides. But probably even more important than the utilization of the existing physical investment in the city is the preservation of the social depth represented by long established institutions; the social values of the older central cities are a rich heritage.

While it is not entirely true that modern man does his thinking in the city and his breeding in the suburbs, most of our creative arts, professions and businesses —music, entertainment, advanced education, publishing, public relations and advertising, top business management, government—to name the more important, flourish in the vital urban center. Indeed, many office headquarters which had taken to the green hinterlands are coming back, because they have found themselves isolated from the invigoration and business services of the central city. They miss the ease of getting a dozen printing bids, of seeing at will their marketing and advertising consultants, contacting directly their competition and being close to foreign trade missions.

James Marston Fitch, Professor of Architecture at Columbia, puts it this way: "When here in New York we speak of financial centers, garment centers, publishing centers, or when we refer to Detroit as the center of one industry or Hollywood of another, we are dealing not in metaphor but in the most concrete of social realities. Such centers are unique. There is no technological substitute for their germinal powers. Personal, face-to-face contact; daily friction and exposure to ideas; continual cross-fertilization from various elements in a given field—these are the essential properties of the center."

Material wealth and richness of ideas, then combine in the cities to create a unique and indispensable setting. At the same time city, county, and state governments are becoming increasingly ineffective in dealing with the conglomerations of people, places and things that are the giant metropolitan areas. Some form of metropolitan government, probably a cooperative federation of independent political entities, must come into being. But the only place such metropolitan government can turn for the know-how and experienced talent capable of running large-scale complex urban operations is the central cities. In spite of the political corruption which has existed on and off in many cities, there has developed in many of them a highly trained professional group competent in the management of massive public services. And it should be noted that in a very real sense the future of the metropolis depends on the central city, for no metropolitan region can long flourish if its heart loses its vigor.

Related to the city's function as a center of ideas is its function as a supplier of jobs. Jobs are the key to our material advancement and are intimately related to social well-being. Today, for the first time in twenty years, we are being reminded by the economic facts of life that full employment has to be worked for, and the city, which provides the setting for office centers, business services, great department stores, education, the arts, government, and the like, generates vast amounts of employment. True, it is losing in manufacturing and trade, but it remains an important supplier of employment not only in the "idea" and "center" industries, but also in the service industries that support them.

Mechanization, automation and discrimination drive large numbers of migrants to the cities from rural areas, depressed areas and small towns. For them, the city is a last hope. Unless they can find jobs and housing, the great human resource represented by these migrating millions will drown in despair. Instead of assets they will become expensive liabilities. With jobs available, however, we have a healthy situation in which the city needs the migrants as much as they need the city. And we preserve jobs by preserving the city, just as we preserve needed shelter, vast quantities of it, by preserving the city.

YOUNG WHITE FAMILIES are today leaving the central city for the bright, low-down-payment houses and sizable yards of the suburbs. Left behind are those who prefer the flavor and convenience of the city, plus the poor and the colored who have no alternative. In some ways, given the problems which confront us, the present population decline in the cities is a blessing, providing as it does a certain amount of elbow-room in which to do rebuilding. It is much easier to relocate families and tear down stores when vacancies are increasing, and if we can make the inner city safer and more attractive, we hope we can hold more and more young families, so that the population will be more dynamic, have even more variety.

In this situation it should be obvious that the housing inventory of the central cities is crucial to the nation. In the twenty largest central cities alone there are at present eight million homes and apartments, probably six million of these in sound condition. Each year we construct half a million fewer standard units than required to keep pace with our nation's needs. Under these circumstances, to allow the vast inventory in our central cities to deteriorate would be sheer folly.

Not everyone can or should move to the suburbs. Not everyone wants to. For working single people, newly marrieds, graduate students, retired couples, the widowed, the divorced, the family with ten children, and all the others who do not fit the mold of suburbia, and for those who love the "fascination in spending one's day among 'innumerable strangers' . . . the sense of domination in knocking on the apartment pipes for more heat" (as the late ruralite Ed Willock put it), the need to live in the city can be great.

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It should also be remembered that the city serves not only its residents. Richness and diversity create a way of life which all can enjoy: the resident, the visitor from afar, the suburbanite who commutes to work or culture. Everyone does not have to live in the city, but all can enjoy it.

Then, too, ideas travel in and out of the city even more easily than do people. Urban culture is all-pervasive, and its influence is significant in every nook and cranny of the nation. Whether we like it or not, we do have a mass society, but if we are to keep the greatest possible amount of yeasty action within the mass, we must untangle, preserve and revitalize our cities. If the central cities were to die, allowing the relatively homogeneous suburbs to fall heir to domination over ideas, our whole culture would be likely to sink into a mediocrity worse than we can now imagine, precisely because choices would become so limited.

The world has grown very small, and if we are to keep our civilization alive we must learn to live in it. Here the city with all its rich variety of people and experiences is invaluable. In this sense the sons and daughters of our migrant poor and urban Negroes are receiving a rich preparation for leadership in the internationalized atmosphere of the coming decades. In the city's mixture of races, incomes, and tastes there is a rich flavor of democracy, but to date this has never flowered politically. Here is a challenge to us as urban rebuilders. Perhaps in urban renewal itself, with its drastic shaking up of people and neighborhoods, with the opportunity it offers citizens to organize and participate in public decision-making, there is the means of new political identification and involvement.

AT THIS POINT it is possible to detect a quickening of the tempo of urban rebuilding. President Kennedy showed his own deep concern for urban problems by pressing Congress for two and one-half billion dollars in urban renewal funds for the next four years. When this sum is compared to the total of two billion dollars appropriated during the entire twelve years since the renewal program began in 1949, there is reason to feel encouraged.

On the negative side, it is probably fair to say that the emphasis in urban renewal remains too much on the physical. Human life develops in its fullness as it moves toward order, intelligence, beauty, and love of God. The shining office tower and neatly laid out suburban street are good but insufficient. It is necessary, too, to take cognizance of the inner man and help him achieve a full vision of the good city. It would seem time that some federal aid be provided for the human side of urban renewal—perhaps for a program which could introduce into the city the concepts and basic education techniques of agricultural extension, which has been so successful with rural people.

The city, we know, is not the young, robust, growing force it once was. Rather it is today like a man entering his fifties, no longer producing children but at his peak in producing ideas and wealth and in serving society. Today the city faces the paradox of maturity. The difficulties are great, but those who labor for the salvation of the city should do so with high confidence.

AN ELEGY FOR ERNEST HEMINGWAY

Now for the first time on the night of your death
your name is mentioned in convents, *ne cadas obscurum.*

Now with a real bell your story becomes final. Now men
in monasteries, men of requiems, familiar with the dead,
include you in their offices.

You stand anonymous among thousands, waiting in the dark
at great stations on the edge of countries known to
prayer alone, where fires are not merciless, we hope,
and not without end.

You pass briefly through our midst. Your books and
writings have not been consulted. Our prayers are
pro defuncto N.

Yet some look up, as though among a crowd of prisoners
or displaced persons, they recognized a friend once
known in a far country. For these the sun also rose
after a forgotten war upon an idiom you made great. They
have not forgotten you. In their silence you are still
famous, no ritual shade.

How slowly this bell tolls in a monastery tower for a
whole age, and for the quick death of an unready dynasty,
and for that brave illusion: the adventurous self!

For with one shot the whole hunt is ended!

THOMAS MERTON.

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Salazar's Dream World

by GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN

AFTER A COUPLE of days in Portugal, one has the sensation of living in a completely unreal atmosphere. Life there is much like an oppressive dream, where everything has come to a standstill, where every effort seems unbearably difficult, and where all adults are treated like children, unable to take care of themselves and permanently in need of a tutor.

Everybody seems to be embarrassed because they live in such an atmosphere and even more because they tolerate it. The drivers are embarrassed when asked about the slogan one sees on practically every car: "Angola is Portugal!" or "We are all united in our war for Angola!". The waiters in the cafes are embarrassed when asked why an extra fee has to be paid "for more ambulances to Angola." And the soldiers in their poor tropical uniforms embarking for Angola are embarrassed too; even in talking to a foreigner they do not show "the fiery patriotic fighting spirit against the Communist black terrorists in Angola" which the Portuguese papers describe with such eloquence. It is as if the whole Portuguese people had been caught red-handed doing something shameful and was embarrassed how to explain it.

And then immediately beneath the surface one finds a burning opposition to the present regime, an opposition which seems to be everywhere. But even those in opposition are embarrassed at having to explain why the regime is tolerated one day more. If a free Gallup poll could be made in all countries with dictatorial governments, my guess is that the present regime in Portugal would prove to be the most unpopular. And everything indicates that the dictator, Professor Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, who has been in charge for nearly thirty years now, is well aware of this fact—and doesn't care.

Paradoxically, what makes this extraordinary man even more hated than one would expect is the fact that he himself is the exact opposite of the popular image of a dictator. No criticism can be made of his private life, and he is personally about as vulnerable as the steel ball of a ballbearing, a fact even his worst enemies recognize. His fatal temptation, they say, is power, without even the ordinary human passions as an excuse, and what makes things worse is the fact that he is firmly convinced that he was expressly chosen by Providence to be Portugal's savior and tutor.

IT IS TRUE that not even Salazar's worst enemies can accuse him of having reaped personal profit from his position. His private life is extremely modest, and diplomatic gossip in Lisbon has nothing to tell about love affairs or personal scandals of any kind. Furthermore, there is much to be said for the way this one-time professor of economics has organized his country's finances since he came into power.

In a way it could be said that Salazar is extremely un-Portuguese. He hates the flowery expressions his countrymen are so fond of and their Latin lack of precision, and he expresses himself with Anglo-Saxon understatements.

As far as Salazar's political views are concerned, however, they could be summed up this way: the world is being devoured from within by Communist agents, with the exception of only these nations: Portugal, Spain and the Union of South Africa. These three countries, therefore, are the targets of a world-wide conspiracy, aimed at their total destruction. Everybody who does not substantially agree with Salazar is a Communist. And since the constitution of Portugal theoretically is democratic in the Western sense of the word, the Salazar reasoning goes, Portugal is not a dictatorship.

As for the Portuguese possessions in Africa and Asia, which are twenty-five times greater than the territory of the mother country, these are according to the constitution only Portuguese provinces, and thus there is no such thing as Portuguese colonialism. The uprising in Angola, then, is nothing but trouble in a Portuguese province and is no business of other countries.

This is the official position. But during my stay in Portugal I heard other views, strongly presented by representatives of the opposition, both in Portugal and Angola. The people I talked to were of all conditions, rich and poor, and of all political shades, from the left to the right. They included whites, Negroes and persons of mixed descent, members of the armed forces as well as civilians. Their testimony went in

Mr. Kumlien, The Commonweal's regular correspondent in Rome, recently returned from a stay in Portugal.

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one direction, and one direction only. The Portuguese authorities in Angola, they said, have been guilty of atrocities of the worst kind towards the native population in Angola. Almost without exception these witnesses confirmed the horror stories told by refugees from Angola and by missionaries. The power of the Portuguese police, they said, has grown to the point that they almost constitute a State within the State and for torture and arbitrariness its conduct is not much better than that of police in the Communist countries.

PORTUGAL is, of course, generally regarded as a Catholic country with a Catholic government, a theme the regime stresses on every possible occasion. There is no doubt that Salazar is backed by a large part of the upper clergy and by many outstanding Catholics, as well as by the ruling class in general, which receives many material benefits from his regime. In the name of justice, however, the other side of the Catholic medal has to be shown too.

Within the opposition to the Salazar regime Catholics also lead, and not only Catholic laymen but many of the clergy. For example, although it seems not to be widely known outside of Portugal, Bishop Antonio Ferrerira Gomes, of Oporto, one of the biggest Sees in Portugal, is living in exile because of a conflict with the regime, and the Apostolic Vicar General in Angola, Monsignor Manuel Joaquim Mendes das Neves, is in prison, together with a part of the clergy, for the very same reason. One has to go to the Communist countries to find a comparable situation.

Bishop Gomes' difficulties developed when he thought it his duty to call public attention to the distinction that must be made between the Church and the Salazar regime, however pious the Portuguese ruler may be in his private life. In an open letter, therefore, the Bishop took a firm position against the police terror and the colonialist methods employed in Angola, stressing that the Church was not behind such tactics and that the consciences of many believers were gravely concerned.

Shortly afterward the Bishop was barred by the police from returning to his country and his See, and he has ever since been living in exile. Despite the official action, however, the Bishop overnight became a hero not only in his own diocese but all over Portugal. He received thousands of letters praising his position, even after the official propaganda began to hint darkly that the Bishop had been strongly influenced by Communism!

This head-on encounter between the Bishop of Oporto and the regime naturally encouraged others in the Catholic opposition to Salazar. Petition after petition circulated, with protests against police terror, the atrocities in Angola, and the lack of the most elementary freedoms, and these were signed by both priests and prominent Catholic laymen. For the official propaganda to say that all these people were really Communists became increasingly difficult, if only because they quoted both the French Cardinals and the Pope. True, I have heard it hinted privately in Lisbon that the Pope and some of the Cardinals have fallen under Communist influence, but so far, at least, not even Salazar's propagandists are prepared to go that far in public.

That was the situation last Easter Sunday when the Apostolic Vicar General in Luanda, the capital of Angola, was arrested. Himself of mixed race, he was accused of having helped "the Communist terrorists," i.e. the native uprising. From that moment on, a native priest or one with any Negro heritage at all was considered a potential traitor by the Portuguese police. Many were arrested and many more were sent to Portugal, where they have to report regularly to the police. Their offense? It was proved that many of them were in contact with native priests in other African countries and that some of them even communicated with the black Cardinal Rugambwa in Tanganyika. This apparently was crime enough.

So matters stood when I left Portugal. Salazar rules, but the idea that all his critics are Communists gets harder and harder to sell. Salazar knows this; he could hardly help it. And he must know too that things are unlikely to get easier for him in the days ahead. What new plans he has for dealing with the situation, if any, remain his secret.

CRUCIFIXION: ANDREW IN SCOTLAND

Lord? Already comes your harvest?
You know that this field was slow
and stony and the weather disagreeable.
And I, a Jew used to boiled skies
and olive trees. Still, we have walked
far to meet here now.

See how they make ready now and join
two young trees to form your Name.
Not since I fled you on the hill of hammers
have I feared this way of dying,
or felt as weak.

Their cold eyes have stoned me here
and your Seed has not rooted in these rocks
or the blue clay they smear on their faces;
still I have worked while the light lasted.
Tomorrow, while this shell dries
on poles in the sun, I will be with you.
They come now; it is time for the others.

JAMES BONK.

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Two Catholic Traditions

by HERBERT MASON

AMERICAN CATHOLICS are increasingly aware that they are entering into a new era, that new and unexplored territory lies open before them, that new directions must be sought and found. While the future is necessarily uncertain, some signposts are already becoming discernible. But the real and important choices are yet to be made, choices which will determine a large part of the future. What at least some of these choices are and what directions are possible, and even desirable, was revealed to me recently in conversation with François Mauriac. In contrasting the situations of France and America, he not only threw light on the present direction of the Church in France but intimated possibilities for American Catholics.

M. Mauriac spoke of the Catholic *tradition* in France as being one among several traditions, emphasizing the word, trying to stress its unique meaning in France. "We have a long long *tradition* and in letters I'm afraid I'm one of the last, *le dernier*. The Lord perhaps has no need of men of letters here now. The Church in France must now move into social levels, toward the struggle individuals can't wage alone."

He reflected that the Spanish and Italian Church appealed to him more—*"elles sont plus belles"*—but that France's liberty and *intérieur* had given her a certain important if less outwardly luminous mission, one of inward search. He spoke of the American Church as being at present more political than *mystique* and judged that we would have to reverse this to some extent if we are ever to define our spiritual character more personally, more profoundly than we have. Catholic writers in France have given us a variety of indications as to what that implies.

He spoke, in respect to this *tradition,* of someone such as de Gaulle, of his extraordinary dynamic gift of remaining open to possibilities with his storehouse of ideas. We spoke further, on another level, of Charles de Foucauld as another voice in this *tradition,* one who goes for an uncompromising total union with God rather than for conversions, in which profundity of faith the real key is to be found.

All of the things which M. Mauriac mentioned intimate, I believe, something that pertains also to us. To understand the word *tradition* is also to begin to understand what it is to co-exist with other traditions, to feel less fear or confusion in the face of the pluralism of the world. Part of the Catholic's vocation, as Jean Daniélou phrased it often, is a *fraternité humaine* that unites the Voltairian and Pascalian consciences in a common struggle, for example, against the merely consuming level of Christianity, against illusion and the fruitless. But the heart of this subtle fraternity, as exemplified, for example, by Mauriac's words about Sartre—"the most important writer living in France today"—and his essay on Gide, is the awareness that someone in another tradition can sense a certain fatality in the roots of a civilization, that this sense reaches into the soul also, and that the man of *caritas* (perhaps the most difficult *caritas)* must have the intuition and the will to share in the spiritual urgency of the other's need for freedom.

THE PAROCHIAL view, however, which in its narrowest sense still has a certain authority in America, tends toward the deadness of judging that this other, this agnostic or atheist or Communist or whatever, is by virtue of his philosophy unworthy of liberation. The French Catholic Renascence, as seen from Baudelaire to the present, calls us to shy from the parochial in our thoughts and to realize, if we are proud in numbers, that the small number of French Catholics today is not due to a liberality in thought and friendship but to the inevitable breakdown of the deadness. We are called to realize that another's suffering for want of hope is our own deepest call for immortality.

Perhaps the real breakthrough to this spirit of *fraternité,* of a common migration, as it were, a sense of common suffering, already had a reservoir in centuries of Catholicism, but reasserted itself, for example, in J. K. Huysmans' cry for help against despair in *A Rebours:* "Lord, take pity on the Christian who doubts, on the sceptic who would fain believe, on the galley-slave of life who puts to sea alone, in the darkness of night, beneath a firmament no longer illumined by the beacon-fires of the ancient hope!"

It was this cry that Baudelaire had made earlier in his *Benediction* and at the end of his life. It was echoed by Rimbaud, Bloy, Bernanos, Sartre, Camus (in *Une Saison en Enfer, Le Désesperé, Sous Le Soleil de*

Mr. Mason is a member of the faculty of St. Joseph's College, Maine. This is his first appearance in The Commonweal.

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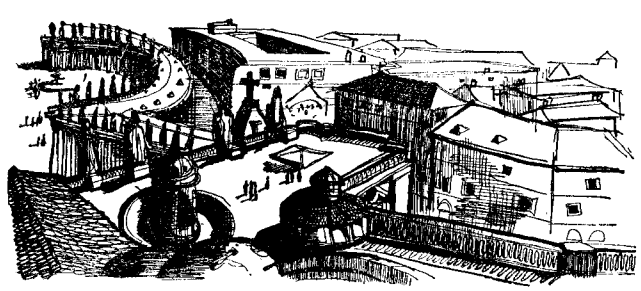
Satan, Huis Clos, La Chute) in their personal questioning of the enslavement of the will; in their sight of moral ruins, their horror in self-love, sodomy, monotony, political hypocrisy, spiritual temptations, which vision grew from life, not literature. From Camus' Hell, where people sit under their signs of criminal superficiality unable to explain themselves, to Sartre's, where "other people" cannot stop thwarting each other's desires for liberation, to Bernanos', where the angel actually appears in the double of a soul's isolation wearing the face of spiritual pride, tempting this soul to inconceivable vanity, inversion and despair: in all of these there is the sense of the solitary and the frail. We hear the cry of those who, in the face of a complacent society, have gone to the very end of society's own *aesthetique du mal,* promiscuity, self-indulgence, experimentality in sin and satanism, and, as Mauriac said, are not to be scorned or thought to have witnessed nothing.

Huysmans called his own conversion a convalescence and his remaining years were devoted to using his very sensitivities in taste, form and the discomfitting to bring to Catholics a sense of their great aesthetic heritage, their inner meaning of a cathedral, and the redemptive significance of personal suffering. These things are important for us Americans to know before we lay the cornerstone of our interior cathedral.

THE FRENCH Catholic and non-Catholic writers have found further things that are important to us. For example, we may regard Bernanos and Camus together on the subject of *justice,* "in banking and businessmen's democracies hurrying their people into war in the name of Right and Justice in which these Democracies no longer believe . . . and from which it is reasonable to expect a victory as empty as the other . . ." as Bernanos put it in his journal prior to World War II. Camus' sense of the "absurdity" is already well-known. Both call us not to be deceived by social, national or personal dreams of justice growing out of war: that a "virtue" such as justice necessitates first a clear self-sacrifice that realizes above all, as Thérèse de Lisieux said, that "war is cowardice."

Camus and Bernanos are dark writers to us because they are facing the problem of justice in an age whose actions have refused to see it even remotely in Christian terms. At the center of any refusal to face it, Bernanos believed, is a mistake men make about "God's grace," thinking He intends it to perfect their societies rather than their souls, letting themselves be tripped by dreams. This is something that American Catholics can learn from, knowing as we do that institutions are our crosses, not our substitutes for souls. The agnostic "rebel" helps us to see this, as he rebels against any false claim to perfection by society and attacks the root of it: the shallow believer. The rebel's integrity is, like the Christian's, in his attachment to truth.



These points bear relevance to Americans, profound relevance. In fact, I would say that Robert Lowell's recent book *Life Studies* and his exciting translations of Baudelaire begin to refute those French critics of America who say we are unaware of the common struggle of man, preferring less personal, immediate visions of ourselves. What Lowell has discovered "waking in the blue" is Adam in a profound Huysmansian vision of human dilapidation that reaches beyond an individual into a whole civilization. In an earlier poem such as "The Quaker Graveyard in Nantucket," he reminds us that this vision is rooted in us, if we only look back to Melville, to the itinerary that takes us from the "slipping root" in *Typee* to the Ishmael who is saved amidst ruins and floating debris; from Bartleby the Scrivener, who like a monk without a monastery *prefers* to wrestle with his angel in utter isolation, fasting and death, to Billy Budd, the victim of the law of the sea as it was in the wilderness.

The vision is found also in Eliot's *Preludes* or *Dry Salvages,* in Thomas à Becket and the law of the cathedral as it was in the wasteland. It was echoed in Eugene O'Neill's mournful peering into islands of people suspended in fog; in Gatsby's unattainable blue light; in Hemingway's old man, Faulkner's deserter, James Baldwin's native son, or the loneliness of "Winesburg, Ohio."

It is the heart of the Ishmaelian, the uprooted, as Oscar Handlin has called him, the dislocated, the exiled, the natural wanderer, the unpreferred son of Agar sent to experience and build his city in the wilderness, the wasteland or the desert; the one in whom the Christian must find himself, in whom he must *lose* himself, as did Foucauld among the Arab "Ishmaelites," and whom he must not despise. Ishmael is the inmost rebel, the inward seeker, the hermit, who can't really *convert* and become what he is not, but who must be offered the hospitality to convalesce.

Like Baudelaire, Huysmans, Gide, Sartre and Camus, our own writers have witnessed the inmost suffering that comes from spiritual and human isolation, from the "lonely voyage" toward Abraham and his transparency to God. Our writers have tried to tell us that there is an angel to wrestle with, that our nature is also our danger, that any attempt to bury our dead in an imaginary Eden of the past or a secular sanctity some-

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where in the present is tragic folly. The French writers, particularly Bernanos writing in reference to the Curé d'Ars, tell us of "the sin of despair." We might reflect that our own writers have exhausted themselves proving to us that ruins are real.

The three great guiding "unconsoled" saints (those used for the sake of others) of nineteenth-century France reveal or indicate to us, as Mauriac intimated, our spiritual way in the twentieth century—the way of the obscure, be it in a monastery, a parish or a desert hermitage: the way the Christian can best offer himself to his work or to others.

By now Thérèse de Lisieux is familiar to most American Catholics, even if she has been ruined for some by the doctoring of her writings and the mistaken statuary. But the Curé d'Ars and Charles de Foucauld are less known, though equally important. Each had a quasi-negative vision that would be offensive only to those who can't think of the *end* as anything but a destruction, a summation of everything horrible and unexamined, instead of as a miracle in ruins, a beginning. . . . The key words respectively of each were "little," "lost" and "nothing": of Christianity, instead of inflating us or justifying our swords, making us small, losing us for the sake of those we serve, making us become nothing, transparent, among strangers, to whom we must be called by His love not by our cultural expansion. Foucauld's life among the Touaregs of the Sahara was no less arduous and dry than Jean Vianney's among the townspeople of Ars, a town judged abandoned by God, or, for that matter, than any scholar's drawn to fields also deemed at times abandoned by God.

To be sure, if we reflect on the work of Huysmans, Teilhard de Chardin and many others, along with the worker-priests, of whom M. Mauriac is a strong supporter, we can see how any area, be it of epistemological or social inertia, can be entered into in a similarly patient way, in awareness of the spiritual force guiding us and in humility before the integrity of what we are approaching. Creatively we can echo Baudelaire in believing there is a place in Heaven for the poet.

These voices are a part of the French *tradition,* and as Christians we must become similarly unembarrassed by this word in which we belong and remain; as Americans it is our cross to belong to a word that is threadbare among things new. It is our cross to know among abstractions that our God is found only through fraternal love.

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THE SCREEN

THE SCREEMING MEEMIES

SOMETIMES a lively fright in the theater is very relaxing. On our screens now are several relaxers, none of which can stand too close scrutiny as cinematic art, but which may succeed in making you forget for a while.

In fact, you're likely to get all wrapped up in Susan Strasberg's troubles in "Scream of Fear" right from the moment the pretty, crippled girl arrives in her wheelchair at father's villa on the French Riviera and is told father is away for several days. The stepmother (Ann Todd), whom Susan has never met, seems cordial enough; but the place has an eerie atmosphere, what with the inadequate lighting system and that sinister-looking doctor who hangs around and talks about Susan's unstable mental state. In no time Susan has real cause to scream when her father's dead body keeps turning up in unexpected places and everyone except the chauffeur (Ronald Lewis), who seems to be on her side, looks on Susan as if she were mad. Some of this smacks of "Angel Street" (also known as "Gaslight") but director Seth Holt has cooked up some spooky devices of his own. No one in his cast gives a memorable performance; however he achieves the scary aura he's aiming at, especially in the scenes in which Susan and the chauffeur search for the corpse in the deep freeze and the swimming pool. Scriptwriter Jimmy Sangster, who also gave the film its handsome production, plays some tricks in the solution that aren't quite cricket in mysteries, but the film's shocks, like the reappearing corpse, are guaranteed to have the desired effect.

EDGAR ALLAN POE hasn't fared too well in the movies, although there were times when "Usher," "Tell-Tale Heart," "Black Cat," and "Rue Morgue" caught some of the horrors that Poe had in mind. Perhaps his stories are a little too sick for a realistic medium like cinema. In any case, the latest attempt, "The Pit and the Pendulum," fares no better than the others. Scriptwriter Richard Matheson saw fit to drop the thin but hysterical original plot about a man being tortured during the Inquisition and has concocted an affair of his own about a young man (John Kerr) who visits a weird castle in Spain to inquire into the untimely death of his sister (Barbara Steele). He finds not only his weird brother-in-law (Vincent Price) but also an unusual assortment of people and a fully-equipped torture chamber—all guaranteed to keep any normal audience on the edge of their chairs. Some of this gets ludicrous at times, but producer-director Roger Corman, who is not too successful with his

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actors, is much better at creating a creepy atmosphere, and he is greatly helped by some stunning color photography of the rococo castle and its chilling terrors. Poe fans may not be happy with this, but perhaps Poe himself would have found its jumpy suspense and sinister trappings quite passable.

ALSO NOT for the faint-hearted is "The Young Doctors," a hospital movie which is not intended as a horror thriller but often turns out as such during its clinically explicit operation scenes. Thus when Fredric March, in a first-rate performance as the hospital's chief pathologist, is shown cutting up a corpse, he says, "I hold in my hand a human brain," while the camera lingers lovingly on it—much to the distress of his student nurses and the audience. Among the assets of "The Young Doctors" are its realistic and documentary aspects of what goes on in a hospital, its conclusions that doctors are often overworked and even the best of them do not always agree on a diagnosis, and the fine acting of Fredric March as the aging pathologist who finally realizes with some grace that he is being supplanted by a younger man (Ben Gazzara). Among the film's weaknesses are a story loaded with clichés that are not much higher than the soap opera level and a supporting cast whose members, except for the always reliable Aline MacMahon, do little to raise the tenor of the picture. "The Young Doctors" received the endorsement of the A.M.A., and I wish I could work up a little more enthusiasm.

TO TURN TO something light after all this grim business, there's "Come September," a zany comedy with Gina Lollobrigida, Rock Hudson, several attractive teenagers and some stunning Italian scenery photographed in Technicolor. The plot, a kind of a thin, racy affair, isn't very edifying, but it comes to a moral enough conclusion and some of its side issues are quite amusing. Rock is a New York millionaire who visits his Italian villa every September accompanied by Gina, a Roman beauty so attracted to Rock that she doesn't mind being the girl of the month. This year Rock arrives at the villa in July and upsets things no end because his major domo (Walter Slezak) runs the place as Hotel La Dolce Vista for eleven months of the year. Naturally Rock is furious, especially when the paying guests (Brenda De Banzie chaperoning six American girls among whom is Sandra Dee) are reluctant to leave. What Rock and Gina don't want is a chaperone; and their woes are further complicated when Bobby Darin and three other young fellows arrive and Rock feels a certain responsibility toward the girls. "Come September" is too long, and at times its jokes are obvious, but producer Robert Arthur has decorated his picture well, and Miss Lollobrigida has never been more beautiful, nor Slezak and De Banzie more charmingly funny. All in all, this is just the kind of nonsense to relax the moviegoer who doesn't want to be scared out of his wits by a mystery thriller or by having to think.

ONE HATES to be a spoilsport about a movie as gay and wacky as "The Joker," but for all the fun that director Philippe de Broca provides in this French comedy as well as in his previous effort, "The Love Game," I'm beginning to wonder if the time hasn't come for de Broca to declare himself. His new film is about a whimsical libertine who skips from bed to bed and has an utterly hilarious time as he joyfully dances up the primrose path. Once again Jean-Pierre Cassel plays the lead with hedonistic *joie de vivre* that is almost contagious; and he is surrounded by a family who are right out of "You Can't Take It With You." But surely de Broca must have something more in mind than all this satirical fun-poking at convention and morality. Maybe the clue is in the finale of "The Joker." Immediately after Cassel seduces his latest prey (Anouk Aimee) from her dull husband, the fun-loving joker climbs out of their drab bed, dances into the dining room and goes on to the kitchen to start a new conquest with the cook. Moral, if any: never take an amorous joker (or a de Broca film) seriously?

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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England's Finest Hours on the Television Screen

THE TELEVISION PLAYWRIGHT. Selected by Michael Barry. Hill and Wang. 490 pp. $7.95.

By GERALD WEALES

WE HEAR a great deal these days about the new English theater, about the Osbornes, the Behans, the Pinters who are burying the old West End theater in the rubble thrown up by their explosive vitality. In the long run, vitality may not be enough to make a healthy drama. For the time being, however, if "Look Back in Anger," "The Hostage" and "The Birthday Party" can help smother the mystery play, the drawing-room soap opera, the sentimental look at the lower-class mother, the display case of English eccentrics, the synthetic character study, the bromidic message for our time—then we might well, for all our misgivings, join our British brothers in welcoming the new dramatists.

Yet conventional forms do not die; they simply change dress, mannerism, medium. Even if the old stereotypes should lose their home in the West End (about as likely as a Broadway season without an adaptation), there is—judging from *The Television Playwright*—another niche for them to fill. In fact, Donald Wilson's introduction to that volume contains an implicit attack on the new playwrights and an explicit invoking of the magic of Somerset Maugham's name. "The art of story-telling," Wilson writes, with that portentousness that comes on television dramatists in the face of aesthetics, as though he were Rod Serling using the word *tragedy* in talking about *Requiem for a Heavyweight,* "is ancient and mystical." As anyone who has ever had a party line, a television set or a library card will tell you, story-telling is infrequently an art.

The Television Playwright is a collection of ten plays from the B.B.C., which—except for Colin Morris's drama-documentary "The Unloved" (1955)—were performed in 1957 and 1958. Although most of the writers have no American reputation, we can assume, from Wilson's notes, that all are experienced television writers, the Horton Footes, the Reginald Roses, the Tad Mosels of England, and we can further assume that Michael Barry, who made the selection, chose them because they were the best television products of their period. According to Wilson, there were 256 new plays (not adaptations), the work of sixty authors, performed on B.B.C. Television in the year ending March, 1960; if 1957 and 1958 were comparable years, these ten plays should be the cream of a very large crop. Their dullness, their use of conventional character and plot, their plodding earnestness are all the more disappointing when one considers that the B.B.C. offers "freedom of subject and treatment" and that English television writers, at least on the B.B.C., are not forced to dot their work with artificial climaxes, the act breaks necessary for the advertiser's pitch.

There are small virtues in the collection. John Mortimer has occasional glimpses of macabre humor, but "Call Me a Liar" is little more than a collection of cameo caricatures such as any British movie comedy might have. Nigel Kneale, in "Mrs. Wickens in the Fall," is as soft as he is pat in his story, but at least he does suggest that human beings are complicated and that American tourists are not simply foolish. As for the rest of the plays, Ken Hughes's "Sammy," gimmick play though it may be, will do as well as any of the others to clock the insufficiencies of the lot. It is a one-character play, a close look at a small-time grifter as he tries, unsuccessfully, to raise the money that will keep him from being beaten by those familiar hoods who lurk in the background of every English and American track or ring movie.

The play's appeal, I suppose, is that it is a *tour de force,* but there is no reason, in terms of situation or character, why it should involve simply Sammy, a radio and a telephone. The only genuine things in the whole script are some realistic touches about how squalid a cheap apartment can be, but for years the documentary tradition has hovered in the background of English films—particularly the thrillers.

The most obvious characteristic of the plays in this volume is that they depend so much on stock situations, worked out with the kind of meticulousness which suggests that the writers care more for the mechanics than they do for any implications beyond the artificial. For this reason, they are actually much closer to our standard TV fare—the westerns, the mysteries, the family comedies—than they are to the products of our now dead television drama boom—the period of the mid-fifties when we had a mushrooming of original scripts. A comparison of sorts might be made between Elaine Morgan's "You're a Long Time Dead" and Tad Mosel's "The Haven," which was done on the Philco Playhouse in 1953. Both plays are about sensitive men married to vulgar women who dominate them; both end with the couple staying together. Mosel is mainly interested in the relationship between the two and in a depiction of the woman (the best thing in his script); he introduces a crude device—an affair and a suicide, both in the past—to bring an ending to what is essentially a plotless situation. Miss Morgan's script, on the other hand, is all device; a suspicion that he is in danger causes the husband to plot the murder of the wife and the suggested play of character becomes simply another English mystery. Neither play is particularly satisfying, but, at the risk of being chauvinistic, I find myself preferring the Mosel cliché to the Morgan.

In its best days, B.B.C. Radio gave work to many imaginative English writers, turned up plays as impressive as Louis MacNeice's "The Dark Tower" and Dylan

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Thomas's "Under Milk Wood." It may well be that in some small corner of B.B.C. Television, originality is also at work. If *The Television Playwright* is a fair sample, that originality does not lie in drama. An evening of television, an assault of ads and banality, might make one look longingly at an organization like the BBC, but—judging by these ten plays—we might as well stick with "Have Gun, Will Travel" and "77 Sunset Strip."

Nuclear Ethics

WAR AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE. By Paul Ramsey. Duke University Press. $6.

By WILLIAM V. O'BRIEN

THE SUB-TITLE to Paul Ramsey's *War and the Christian Conscience* is a question, "How shall modern war be conducted justly?" Many have answered that no modern war can be conducted justly. Perhaps the majority of Americans feel that any war is conducted justly if the circumstances of its initiation and its purposes are just and the means employed are required by those purposes. Ramsey rejects both views and argues for limited war fought within the bounds of the traditional just war doctrine.

For it is the traditional doctrine that Ramsey, one of the most distinguished contemporary Protestant theologians, finds his answer. However, his approach to that doctrine differs from that which prevails among Catholics. His emphasis is on charity rather than natural justice and on grace-elevated rather than natural reason. This leads him to a much more restrictive notion of the circumstances in which another being, even an "aggressor," may be killed. He is, therefore, extremely strict in his insistence on the distinction between combatants and non-combatants, which he formulates in terms of counter-force and counter-people war.

Following the Thomistic double effect principle, Ramsey brands as immoral any directly intended counter-people attack. Yet his reading of Herman Kahn, Oscar Morgenstern and Thomas C. Schelling has shown him that the whole theory of deterrence tends to be based on the notion that in a situation of stabilized deterrents wherein "forces" are substantially invulnerable it is the threat of counter-*people* war which deters. But deterrence is not feasible if it depends upon weapons which ought not to be used and, indeed, which are *designed not to be used* (i.e. by their very unreasonableness they will prevent war)!

However, unlike many moralists who have moved from this conclusion to nuclear pacifism or utopian internationalism, Ramsey resolutely confronts the problem of the continuing need for armed force in the world. He advocates the development of limited war capabilities like those recommended by the late Thomas E. Murray and urges that we couple our moral resolution not to use immoral means with equal resolution to resist blackmail and aggression. Ramsey is aware that our present military capabilities are primarily directed to counter-people war, but he would not have us simply abandon them overnight.

Under a concept of "deferred repentance" he argues that while an individual is enjoined to cease sinful behavior at once, a responsible statesman's obligations to his society may require that he move rather deliberately towards replacing immoral with moral means of defense. But he must make some move and Ramsey would start now, unilaterally if necessary, to bring our means of defense down to the levels where they can be used for counter-force warfare. This might include a limited nuclear war capability, for it is not the categories of weapons (nuclear, conventional, etc.) which concern Ramsey but the objects of attack. Tactical nuclear weapons can be counter-force weapons so they are permissible; multi-megaton weapons seem to have little use except for "city-busting," hence they are inadmissi-

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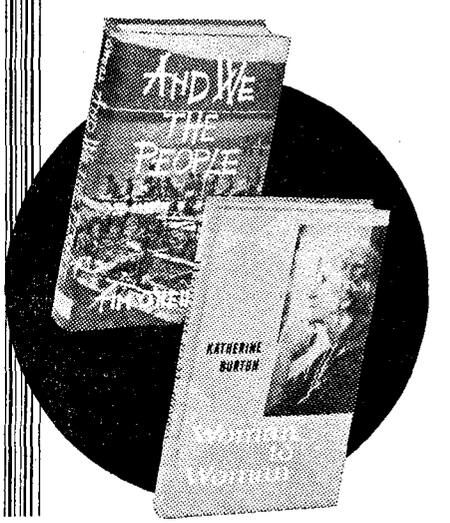

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ble counter-people weapons. Moreover, the mere possession of weapons whose main function is counter-people war is immoral.

This raises a difficulty to which Dr. Ramsey has not yet fully addressed himself. He apparently feels that a defense can be both limited and effective. But if the capacity for counter-people war were relinquished unilaterally it would seem most likely that an aggressor possessing a nuclear counter-people war capability would engage in the very blackmail that Ramsey would resist. In other words, Ramsey's analysis is primarily addressed to deciding what kind of war the United States should choose to fight if it has to.

In the past we have apparently been willing to *choose* counter-people war. Indeed, there was great question as to our capacity to fight any other kind of war in a major conflict. But, supposing (as recent events seem to indicate) that the United States is in fact moving away from preparations for counter-people war, the problem still remains: What adequate answer would there be to nuclear, counter-people blackmail if the willingness or capacity to retaliate in kind were absent? We need further thinking here; and it is to be hoped it will attain the levels of scholarship and moral perception which characterize Dr. Ramsey's incisive work.

An Inside Story

THE ADVENTURES OF MAUD NOAKES. By Alan Neame. New Directions. $3.75.

By JOHN P. SISK

THE FIRST thing one is likely to read about Alan Neame's novel is the publisher's assertion that it "will be compared to the best comic writing of Ronald Firbank and Evelyn Waugh." And indeed if the opening chapters do not quite come up to this promise (which is after all not Mr. Neame's) they do present a situation rich in comic possibility.

Maud Noakes, Mr. Neame's heroine-narrator, is an only and precocious child who has been raised by a "devout mother, much interested in African missions." However, as a result of the discovery of her mother's hypocrisy and a disillusioning experience with a lewd missionary home on leave, she decides to devote her life to freeing the Africans from "the blighting labors of her mother and her confederates."

To this end Maud goes to West Africa, subverts the missionary effort in English, French and Belgian territories and gathers material for a detailed anti-missionary report to the Colonial Office. She then goes to Amsterdam, accompanied by a male native donated by a grateful "liberated" chieftain, and completes her report, which she manages to mail off before her mother appears to thwart her.

What follows is an Eric Ambler sort of flight into Germany, Russia and the Near East, in the course of which "with unwavering fanaticism" and meeting disguise with counter-disguise, Maud manages to foil the designs of her pursuing mother. She then returns to England for the public airing of her incendiary report on a nation-wide television program. Having discovered that her indefatigable mother has planned a master coup in behalf of the missionary cause, Maud brings off a counter-coup as a result of which all her enemies—lay, clerical and maternal—are blown to Kingdom Come. She then returns to Africa to merge happily with its enfranchised paganism.

These "unconventional adventures may not suit the prudish, the self-righteous or the timid," warns the dust jacket, thereby giving the false impression that the book is a salacious tidbit. However, let us not worry about the smug, timid prudes, who don't read books like this anyhow, and consider instead the American reader of New Directions books. Such a reader, sophisticated though he may be, may have the sense of being in the presence of a first-rate performance that in too many places is tantalizingly beyond his grasp because too much of it is

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in a foreign language. The foreign language here is the whole milieu of Anglicanism and its missionary effort at home, in the Near East and in Africa. In proportion as the reader does not know this language he will, for instance, miss a good deal of the build-up to the explosive conclusion, since it depends upon a public airing of conflicting points of view on church organization and missionary activities.

The American reader, in short, may not be too certain what is being swung at in this "free-swinging satire": the missionaries, Maud or both—although the excellent Russian episode, in which Maud addresses to the Presidium her plan for world peace, should make it clear that it would be a mistake to identify her views with the author's. Nor does it help to be told that Maud is "a latter-day female Candide," although it must be conceded that she shares with Voltaire a skepticism about the values of organized Christianity and that like Candide she has a run-in with the Jesuits, whom she vanquishes by detonating a pressure cooker.

More to the point, I think, is to note that Mr. Neame (who writes as gracefully as readers of his Commonweal articles might expect) is trying to do in fiction something similar to what was done in the English movies *Kind Hearts and Coronets* and *The Lavender Hill Mob*. These pictures were successful in America not only because there was a sufficiently sophisticated audience for them but because they were grounded on experiences American and British audiences could share. Lacking this advantage, Mr. Neame's first novel will be more limited in its appeal on this side of the Atlantic. Readers here may have to find a way to read it as an attack on Momism.

REVIEWERS

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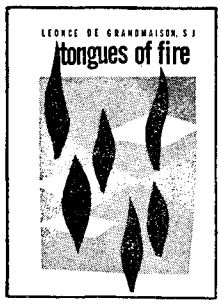

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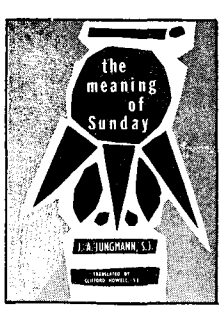

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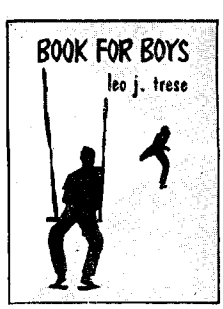

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